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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 194160

FOR AMB YOUNG FROM UNA

FOL RPT MAPUTO 0965 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO DAR ES SALAAM,
GABORONE, LILONGWE, LISBON, LONDON, LUSAKA, MBABANE, PRETORIA &
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QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L MAPUT
O 0965

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PORS, MZ

SUBJECT: MOZAMBIQUE AFTER THREE YEARS: INTERNAL STABILITY AND
GOVERNMENT CONTROL

1. SUMMARY. AFTER THREE YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE MOZAMBIQUE
FRELIIMO GOVERNMENT IS FIRMLY IN CONTROL AND DOES
NOT FEEL THREATENED BY INTERNAL UNREST. CITIZENS ARE
STILL SENT OFF TO RE-EDUCATION CAMPS WITHOUT BENEFIT
OF TRIAL. BUT THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE SEEMS LESS REPRESSIVE
THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE INDEPENDENCE. RUMORS OF
SIGNIFICANT DISSIDENCE, COUP ATTEMPTS, AND THWARTED
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ASSASSINATIONS HAVE GENERALLY BEEN UNFOUNDED, AND MACHEL'S
LENGTHY ABSENCES FROM MOZAMBIQUE ARE ONE INDICATION THAT
HE FEELS FIRMLY IN COMMAND OF THE SITUATION. WHILE
ECONOMIC PROBLEMS COULD TURN THE POPULACE AGAINST FELIMO,
WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE THAT THIS IS YET THE CASE. OVER
THE NEXT YEAR WE DO NOT EXPECT ANY SERIOUS EROSION OF
FRELIIMO CONTROL. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE GPRMS
CONFIDENCE IN ITS ABILITY TO GOVERN WILL RESULT IN A
SOMEWHAT MORE OPEN SOCIETY, BUT ONE WHICH NEVERTHELESS
PLACES HEAVY EMPHASIS ON CENTRALIZED CONTROL. "CORRECT"

THOUGHTS ACTIONS, AND DISTRUST OF WESTERN DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES, END SUMMARY.

2. THE GPRM HAS GRADUALLY INCREASED ITS CONTROL OF THE COUNTRY AND GAINED CONFIDENCE IN ITS ABILITY TO GOVERN. IN THE PAST YEAR IT HAS BECOME REASONABLY EASY FOR WESTERN DIPLOMATS TO VISIT VIRTUALLY ALL AREAS OF MOZAMBIQUE EXCEPT ALONG THE RHODESIAN BORDER. THESE DIPLOMATS REPORT MINIMAL SECURITY PRECAUTIONS AND FEW ROAD BLOCKS EVEN IN AREAS NEAR THE BORDERS WITH RHODESIA AND MALAWI. THE GPRM REQUIREMENT THAT DIPLOMATS SECURE "PERMISSION" FROM THE GOVERNMENT PRIOR TO UP-COUNTRY TRAVEL STEMS MAINLY FROM A DESIRE TO ELIMINATE EMBARRASSING SITUATIONS WHERE PROVINCIAL STAFF IS CAUGHT UNAWARES. THE TREND OF OPENING MOZAMBIQUE TO VISITORS IS CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED BY THE GPRM'S WILLINGNESS TO RECEIVE WESTERN JOURNALISTS. IN RECENT MONTHS A STEADY STREAM OF US REPORTERS AND COMMENTATORS HAVE BEEN WELCOMED AND ALLOWED TO TRAVEL EXTENSIVELY, ALBEIT ON PROGRAMS ARRANGED BY THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION. THE INFORMATION MINISTER JORGE REBELO, AND THE NEW DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION LOPES MOTA. APPARENTLY HAVE DECIDED THAT MOZAMBIQUE HAS LITTLE TO FEAR FROM THE CONFIDENTIAL

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FOREIGN PRESS, AND MOST STORIES FILED BY THE JOURNALISTS HAVE BEEN GENERALLY FAVORABLE TO MOZAMBIQUE'S GOVERNMENT AND POLICIES.

3. THE ONLY POLITICAL PARTY, FRELIMO, CONTINUES AN ACTIVE CAMPAIGN TO WARN THE POPULACE ABOUT THE EVILS OF IMPERIALISM, RELIGION BANDITRY, AND ECONOMIC SABOTAGE. A RECENT DEVELOPMENT HAS BEEN THE FORMATION OF "VIGILANCE GROUPS" IN FAVORITES, VILLAGES, AND URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS TO GUARD AGAINST THESE EVILS AND REPORT INFRACTIONS TO THE PARTY OR POLICE. FRELIMO TAKES CONSIDERABLE PRIDE IN CONSTANTLY REVIEWING THE ACTIONS OF ITS MEMBERS TO ROOT OUT THOSE WHO ARE UNFAITHFUL TO THE PARTY LINE. THE ELECTIONS FOR LOCAL, DISTRICT, PROVINCE, AND NATIONAL PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLIES IN LATE 1977 PROVIDED THE OPPORTUNITY TO PURGE THE PARTY OF MEMBERS WHO WERE CRITICISED AS "ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE."

4. MOZAMBIQUE CONTINUES TO BE A NATION WITHOUT A FORMAL LEGAL SYSTEM. ALTHOUGH ATTEMPTS ARE BEING MADE TO STRUCTURE A SYSTEM OF PEOPLE'S COURTS AND CODIFY LEGAL PROCEDURES, AND RESIDENTS ARE SHIPPED OFF TO RE EDUCATION CAMPS WITHOUT BENEFIT OF TRIAL OR APPEAL. THE GPRM ACKNOWLEDGES THE EXISTENCE OF THESE PRISON CAMPS WHICH ARE FOUND IN ALMOST EVERY PROVINCE AND ARE LOCATED IN ISOLATED AREAS FAR FROM TOWN OR LINES OF COMMUNICATION. THE PURPOSE OF THE CAMPS IS TO DISCIPLINE THOSE WHO ENGAGE IN CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES OR VIOLATE FRELIMO

POLICES. THE GPRM MAINTAINS THAT TORTURE OR OTHER CRUEL PUNISHMENTS ARE NOT USED, AND THAT THE PROGRAM OR RE-EDUCATION CAMPS IS JUST WHAT THE NAME IMPLIES THE RE EDUCATION OF THE INMATES FOR WORTH WHILE PARTICIPATION IN MOZAMBIQUE'S SOCIALIST SOCIETY. THE CAMP ROUTINE STRESSES AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, VOCATIONAL TRAINING, AND HEAVY DOSES OF POLITICAL INDOCTRINATION. THE SENTENCES ARE INDEFINITE AND AN INMATE IS REHABILITATED WHEN THE CAMP

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COMMANDER SO DECIDES, AN AMERICAN JOURNALIST VISITED A CAMP IN MAY (POSSIBLY SACUZO OR CUSO ON THE SOFALA-MANICA PROVINCE BORDER) AND REPORTED THAT THE 800 DETAINEES APPEARED TO BE REASONABLY WELL TREATED. HE NOTED THAT CRIMES WHICH HAD LANDED THE MOZAMBICANS THERE INCLUDED DRUNKENNESS AND MAKING UNFLATTERING COMMENTS ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT

5. OTHER THAN THE FACTS THAT RE-EDUCATION CAMPS EXIST AND THAT PEOPLE CONTINUE TO BE SENT TO AND RETURN FROM THEM, THERE IS LITTLE HARD DATA ABOUT THE NUMBERS OF CAMPS AND DETAINEES. THE GPRM ONCE ADMITTED HOLDING BETWEEN 12,000-15,000 DETAINEES AND PRESIDENT MACHEL ACKNOWLEDGED THE EXISTENCE OF EIGHT CAMPS. OTHER UNCONFIRMED REPORTS PUT THE FIGURES AS HIGH AS 50,000-60,000 INMATES IN 19-20 CAMPS. WHILE THE CAMPS ARE COERCIVE AND A FAR CRY FROM HOLIDAY RESORTS, THE DETAINEES ARE REPORTEDLY NOT SUBJECT TO INHUMANE TREATMENT. A BASIC TENET OF FRELIMO DOCTRINE HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE ROLE OF RE-EDUCATION RATHER THAN TORTURE OR EXECUTION.

6. OVER THE PAST YEAR THERE HAVE BEEN NO CONFIRMED REPORTS OF REGIONAL OR TRIBAL DISSIDENCE. JOURNALS IN PORTUGAL AND SOUTH AFRICA CONTINUE TO REPORT ALLEGED ANTI-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES IN THE PROVINCES OF CABO DELGADO, NIASA, GAZA, AND INHAMBANE. THE EMBASSY HAS HEARD STORIES THAT GPRM CONTROL IS LESS THAN COMPLETE IN THE PROVINCES OF NAMPULA AND ZAMBEZIA--TWO PROVINCES WHERE FRELIMO HAD LITTLE SUPPORT DURING THE WAR WITH PORTUGAL. NEVERTHELESS, INTERNAL OPPOSITION GROUPS WHICH SURFACED DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF MOZAMBIQUE'S INDEPENDENCE--SUCH AS FUMO (UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF MOZAMBIQUE)--HAVE APPARENTLY DISAPPEARED FROM THE LOCAL SCENE.

7. THE GPRM IS CONCERNED ABOUT ARMED BANDS WHICH OPERATE IN

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MOZAMBIQUE FROM BASES IN RHODESIA, AND TO A FAR LESSER DEGREE FROM MALAWI. THESE BANDS ARE COMPOSED OF EX-MOZAMBICANS, MANY OF WHOM FOUGHT EITHER FOR PORTUGAL OR FRELIMO AND ARE NOW FUNDED AND SUPPLIED BY RHODESIA. THEY LARGELY CONFINE THEIR ACTIVITIES TO THE BORDER AREAS OF MANICA, TETE AND GAZA PROVINCES AND HAVE

REPORTEDLY INFLICTED LOSSES ON MOZAMBIQUE MILITARY UNITS. A GROUP WHICH FIRST CAME TO OUR ATTENTION IN 1977 IS THE "MOZAMBIQUE NATIONAL RESISTANCE." THIS GROUP HAS CLAIMED CREDIT FOR A VARIETY OF MILITARY INCIDENTS AND ECONOMIC SABOTAGE. UNDP OFFICIALS IN MAPUTO HAVE EVIDENCE THAT THE MNR WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLING OF A BELGIAN UNDP TECHNICIAN AND HIS WIFE AT SUSSUNDENGA, MANICA PROVINCE, ON JUNE 22, 1978. MNR FLAGS WERE LEFT BEHIND AS WELL AS A WRITTEN WARNING THAT FOREIGN ADVISORS HELPING THE GPRM WOULD MEET THE SAME FATE. THE UNDP HAS WITHDRAWN ITS TWO TECHNICIANS FROM THAT AREA AND SOME OTHER FOREIGN AID DONORS ARE RELUCTANT TO PLACE TECHNICIANS IN WESTERN MANICA PROVINCE UNTIL THE GPRM CAN PROVIDE ADEQUATE SECURITY. THERE ARE ALSO REPORTS OF INADEQUATE GPRM SECURITY ON THE ROADS IN TETE AND MANICA PROVINCES AND FOREIGNERS ARE RELUCTANT TO DRIVE THESE ROADS AFTER DARK. MOZAMBIQUE OFFICIALS CHARGE THAT THE MNR ARE GANGS OF BANDITS, WITHOUT POPULAR SUPPORT IN MOZAMBIQUE, WHICH EXIST ONLY BECAUSE OF RHODESIAN ASSISTANCE.

8. DOWNTOWN MAPUTO WAS ROCKED BY AN EXPLOSION, PROBABLY A SMALL BOMB, WHICH DETONATED IN A CAFE ON JULY 25. OVER 50 PERSONS WERE INJURED IN WHAT APPEARS TO BE THE FIRST TERRORIST BOMBING IN MAPUTO SINCE INDEPENDENCE. NO GROUP HAS CLAIMED CREDIT FOR THE BLAST. IT IS TOO EARLY TO TELL IF THIS IS A HARBINGER OF THINGS TO COME, BUT WE EXPECT THE GPRM WILL TIGHTEN ITS RATHER LAX SECURITY PROCEDURES TO GUARD AGAINST A RECURRENCE OF SUCH INCIDENTS. MOZAMBIQUE'S MEDIA MENTIONED THE EXPLOSION AND THE SUSSUNDENGA KILLINGS IN THE SAME BREATH, BUT AS YET NO CONNECTION HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED BETWEEN THE TWO TRAGEDIES. IN FACT, THE TWO INCIDENTS HAVE SERVED TO HIGHLIGHT HOW RELATIVELY PLACID AND FREE OF MINDLESS VIOLENCE MOZAMBIQUE HAS BEEN IN THE RECENT PAST.

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9. MILITARY AND POLICE LOYALTY IS THE KEY ELEMENT IN GPRM STABILITY. THE ARMY CONTINUES TO RECRUIT NEW MEMBERS, WHILE RETIRING THOSE WHO FOUGHT AGAINST THE PORTUGUESE. THE NEW MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES (FPLM) ARE GENERALLY BETTER EDUCATED AND MORE HIGHLY POLITICIZED THAN THEIR PREDECESSORS. THE GOVERNMENT AND FRELIMO HAS GONE TO GREAT LENGTHS TO ASSURE THEIR FIDELITY TO PARTY DOCTRINE AND TO THE LEADERSHIP OF PRESIDENT MACHEL. SOME OF THE GOVERNMENT'S BEST LEADERS ARE PERIODICALLY DETAILED TO THE FPLM TO SOLVE PROBLEMS AND ASSURE THE LOYALTY OF THE TROOPS. THE ARMY HAS FIRST CRACK AT CONSUMER GOODS WHICH ARE SELDOM SEEN IN MOZAMBIQUE SHOPS, AND EFFORTS ARE MADE TO SEE THAT THEY AND THEIR DEPENDENTS HAVE THE BEST HOUSING AND EDUCATION AVAILABLE. THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER COMMUNIST NATIONS HAVE OFFERED FOREIGN TRAVEL AND INSTRUCTION TO OFFICERS TO DEMONSTRATE THE BENEFITS OF SERVICE TO THE REGIME.

10. IN AN EFFORT TO IMPROVE GOVERNMENT CONTROL IN THE PROVINCES, IN LATE APRIL THE GPRM REPLACED THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS IN SIX (GAZA, SOFALA, TETE, NAMPULA, ZAMBEZIA AND INHAMBANE) OF THE TEN

PROVINCES. THERE WERE SOME INDICATIONS THAT THE FORMER GOVERNORS HAD LOST TOUCH WITH THE MASSES OR WERE POOR ADMINISTRATORS. THE NEW GOVERNORS HAVE TACKLED THE JOBS BY TRAVELING EXTENSIVELY WITHIN THEIR DOMAINS, BUT THEIR MANAGERIAL ABILITY IS AS YET UNDETERMINED. IF, AS EXPECTED, MOZAMBIQUE'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS CONTINUE, THESE PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS MAY BE HARD PRESSED TO SOLVE TRANSPORT AND SUPPLY BOTTLENECKS AND TO EXPLAIN TO THE PEOPLE WHY THE GPRM IS NOT ABLE TO PROVIDE BASIC COMMODITIES ON A TIMELY BASIS.

11. THE FUTURE: THE ARMY IS THE ONLY FORCE WHICH COULD BRING ABOUT A NEW REGIME, AND MACHEL--AS FRELIMO'S MILITARY AND POLITICAL LEADER DURING THE WAR--APPEARS TO COMMAND THE CONTINU-
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ING LOYALTY OF THE MILITARY FORCES. THE RECURRING SHORTAGES OF BREAD, MEAT, AND OTHER FOODSTUFFS ARE A CAUSE OF CONCERN TO THE GPRM. TO DATE THE MASSES SEEM WILLING TO LIVE WITH THESE SHORTAGES AND TO DWELL ON THE POSITIVE ASPECTS OF INDEPENDENCE (E.G., BETTER EDUCATION, MEDICAL CARE, AND MOZAMBIKAN CONTROL OF THE SYSTEM). HOWEVER, IF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION FAILS TO IMPROVE, POPULAR DISCONTENT WITH THE REGIME COULD INCREASE. IN SUCH A SCENARIO, MACHEL WOULD HAVE TO LEAN EVEN MORE ON A LOYAL PARTY AND MILITARY APPARATUS TO MAINTAIN CONTROL. NEVERTHELESS, WE EXPECT MACHEL TO REMAIN IN POWER FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. DE PREE UNQUOTE VANCE

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